S
SR /379 cont./
369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W
[342] some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S
[351] hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..

S The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
369 ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
352 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
[513] tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very
light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little
table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S
[353] of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of
an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special
stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural.
Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in
these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which
adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a
privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron
or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and
above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S
[292] become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European,
are now the clothes utilized for work.

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511 427 651 467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511

/425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291] 292 796

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below
[452] 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like [redacted] being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'A[redacted]most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'[redacted]his work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old S [294] [565] Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957.

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes.

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta.

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/433 cont./

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and +, the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Organdies	Plain	Lace or Openwork	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 177 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and dresses):

11: Lbques--6 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37 DAKAR
/434/
•291 177

Table III

	Tailles-basses			Voiles, Tulles, Organdies, Lace	Dresses						
	Printed	Others	Total		Plain	Printed Cotton	Printed W. and F.	Dyed	Fibranne	Nylon	Total
Whites	--	16	16	17	24	--	--	--	--	3	44
Blacks	--	--	--	21	22	--	--	--	--	--	43
Violets, mauves	11	--	11	19	5	--	50	--	--	--	74
Indigos	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	--	--	33
Blues	11	--	11	31	28	14	37	--	6	12	128
Greens	--	--	--	--	--	26	39	--	--	--	65
Yellows	--	--	--	--	--	--	38	--	7	--	45
Oranges	3	--	3	--	--	--	23	--	--	--	23
Reds	--	--	--	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	14
Pinks	3	--	3	12	5	--	34	--	--	10	61
Garnets	5	--	5	--	--	--	17	--	3	--	20
Ochers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maroons	49	--	49	--	--	--	87	--	9	--	96
Grays	--	--	--	--	--	--	26	--	--	--	26
	82	16	98	100	84	54	351	33	25	25	672

/Fibranne designates various artificial or synthetic fabrics whose fibers are short and connected by twisting, in contrast to rayon made of continuous fibers./

/434/

Table IV. Recapitulation by Color

Colors	Total 1	Total 2	Total 3	General Total
Whites	460	16	44	520
Blacks	267	--	43	310
Violets and mauves	445	11	74	530
Indigos	995	--	33	1,028
Blues	227	11	128	366
Greens	108	--	65	173
Yellows	184	--	45	229
Oranges	135	3	23	161
Reds	61	--	14	75
Pinks	317	3	61	381
Garnets	22	5	20	47
Ochers	9	--	--	9
Maroons	724	49	96	869
Grays	48	--	26	74
	4,002	98	672	4,772

The Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are always bi-colored or multicolored. Our tables, however, only include simple colors without variations, because the latter are too numerous. We have therefore classified these fabrics by the color of the background, or by the dominant note registered visually.

/435/ /There is no side-heading numbered 3./

4. Interpretation

a) Colors:

The indigo colors take first place (24.86% of the boubous and 21.54% of the whole), thanks to:

--the quality of the European industry--especially Dutch and English--which permits printing designs.

/435 cont./

•291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of marooms takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubeu (1), or boubou,

[192] 1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubeu = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

[177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1.675 = 41.85% as against 2.412 = 56.52%).

291
177 c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

/435 cont./

291 177 It is sometimes difficult to differentiate it from the boubou when it is merely a long, sewed tunic.

It presents different variations (straight, pleated at the waist; round neck, square, etc.; its sleeves plain, puffed .... not reaching below the elbow).

/436/

291 d) Evolution:

In observing the different styles of clothing worn by women of different ages, one has a history of the evolution of the cut in the course of the last 20 years.

Among these 4,772 subjects, we have in fact noted at random: 4 women (from 50 to 55 years old), of whom:

2 wore 1 Fancy print boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was made by a weaver
+ 1 Jacquard
+ 1 cotton print

2 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 camisole
+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was from a weaver
1 Jacquard
1 Fancy

4 women from 40 to 50 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 cotton-print loincloth
+ 1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou
+ 1 Fancy dress
+ 1 Jacquard loincloth

4 women from 30 to 40 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou
+ 1 dress

1 -- 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 dress

/436 cont./

291 1 wore 1 Fancy boubou
+ 1 loincloth

/437/

4 women from 20 to 30 years old:

1 wore 1 voile boubou + 1 Fancy loincloth
1 -- 1 dress + 1 loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

4 young girls:

2 wore 1 taille-basse + loincloth
2 -- 1 dress

Corresponding to this evolution of style, there is an evolution in the choice patterns of printed materials and of the quality of these materials.

When it is a matter of a dress, one sees affirmed more and more the abandonment of large patterns of one or 1.20 X 1.20 meters, and, on the contrary, a choice of simple lines, of flowers, leaves, birds, heightened by a harmony of warm but not gaudy colors.

Similarly, the light cotton fabrics (Citec) are more and more in demand.

B. Method of the Tests.

121 1) General remarks.

"Among the objects that determine positive or negative feelings, one particular category consists of those about which it is said that they are 'beautiful' or 'ugly,' that is to say, of those that do or do not satisfy the aesthetic tendencies." (P. Jampolsky.)

We have asked ourselves, following Mr. Jampolsky, to what extent this "projection" can occasion the application of a personality test.

The apparatus utilized was only meant to furnish, by way of correction, a more complete method. 125 822

It included:

-- a sheet of straight, broken, and curved lines and of rough sketches of figures in black on white.

11: Lèques--17 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

/441/

822 Results:

Blue and white	22
Violet and white.....	12
Black and white.....	12
Red and black	8
Red and white.....	6

It is necessary to note immediately the presence of white in 56 combinations, namely, 35.8% of the total.

According to ages, the proportions remain identical with those of the final table.

The same is true of the classification according to ethnic groups.

Out of 52 subjects, 9 have repeated 3 times the same combination of 2 colors, 26 have done it 2 times.

• [291] Out of these 35 subjects (10 married women and 25 young girls), 25 wore clothes for display of which the dominant notes conformed to the preference expressed at the time of the test.

III. Perspectives.

291 "Color is a more emotional and primitive variable than form, [it] marks the peculiar and significant tendencies in each sex and develops from before adolescence." (P. Jampolsky.)

It would seem, then, more than the design of the motif and the cut of the garment, to be the essential cause of the variability of individual choice in the matter of fashion.

The 1,000 motifs or so (including the variants of the same pattern) put out last year on the Dakar market by the /442/ importers of printed fabrics have brought into play more than 60 different colors, which seems to confirm the preceding point of view.

121 How to determine the ecological and cultural influences in the matter of the individual choice of color with both an aesthetic and useful aim? This presupposes a preliminary definition and delimitation of this milieu, which is the object of a study in progress. /Figs. 1-3 appear here on unnumbered pages./

11: Lèques--18 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Fig. 1. Boubou in white voile and dress in Fancy material (Médina, Dakar).

(Lartéguy photo and plate.)

11: Lèques--19 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Fig. 2. The Kaolack market for dresses (Lèques photo and plate).

11: Lèques--20 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal Ms 37

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Fig. 3. Taille-basse (Dakar) (Lèques photo and plate).

[11 cont.]
369 583 been distributed for the older children.

a) The Pani (the box). In appearance it may be ordinary or magnificent, according to the aesthetic inclinations of the sisters of the husband. Often it is an old metal box that contained tidbits. In any case it is not the appearance that interests us, but the contents, which generally are:

[301] 12 louis d'or 51;
2 gold necklaces, we say "chains";
2 pairs of gold earrings;
1 or 2 pairs of gold bracelets;
4 or 8 sautoirs, medals of gold which encircle the figure.

[435] The box is found already prepared among the jewelers. Its minimum price is 6,000 francs. Its value easily reaches 20,000 francs and more.

b) The Basket for Effects. This is an expense of recent character and of practical import. Formerly, on the day of [585] the nuptials, the husband gave his wife a bundle of banknotes as personal property accruing to her from her marriage. But the tradition that the woman should be generous made this money disappear immediately, distributed among the persons of caste who came from everywhere. I would have willingly given, if I had known it, the name of the first Saint-Louis man who replaced this packet of money with a quantity of clothing, thus putting his wife in a position to benefit from it herself. The basket actually contains articles whose number and quality vary, but which constitute a veritable trousseau no less, which may last for years. For an individual from a "great family" or a "peasant," it includes as much as:

369 583 791 435 12 robes [boubous] of crepe de Chine (of which 4 of 8 meters each are obligatory, 160 francs per meter);
12 robes of rich bazin (4 obligatory of 8 meters each at 225 francs per meter);
4 camisoles, ordinary or of Lagos fabric;
[12] 4 camisoles of crepe de Chine (extravagantly cut to a length of 4 or 5 meters);

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435

12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;

12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);

2 silk handkerchiefs;

4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685 c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565 d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[576] [302] [306]

18: Savonnet--17 E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 80 and 81./

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Plate XII

A. Thiès. The Takhikao square after winter.

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B. Thiès. Market scene.

19: Pehaut--19 K-4 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 16-17/ Plate I

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[291]

A. Harvested field of groundnuts in Wolof country.

B. The groundnut harvest in Sérère country.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

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113. *Senegal: a Council of Notables*

[facing p. 432]